2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8 Otuké SF18

# THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

## TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçues* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 250 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequirý-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

/112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo. In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

2: Steinen--540E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/440 cont./

B 173 was born on the Matihurizá, "where there is neither land nor forest," that is, no shore, "and he went far upstream." The Matihurizá is the Tapajoz, if it does not represent the Amazonas itself. Thus, if the main movement of the Karaiben tribes was in the direction from south to north, at least this part of the Nu-Aruak group moved from north to south.

To be sure, the good people are not concerned about the slight contradiction that Uazale came from the far north and that his grandmother Maisõ made the Rio Cuyabá as the first of all rivers!

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## Chapter XVII.

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## On the Bororõ.

### I. Historical. Founding of the Colonies.

Bororõ da Campanha and do Cabaçal. "Coroados" = Bororõ. Confusion in the literature. Little Sebastian. Martius. Ending of warfare and catechesis. Pillage in the colonies.

B 101 Two groups of Bororõ are distinguished in the Mato Grosso: the "Bororõs da Campanha," or of the plains, and the "Bororõs Cabaçaes," or of the Rio Cabaçal. The Bororõs da Campanha B 131 live in small settlements below Villa Maria, on the right bank 133 of the Paraguay and Jaurú, toward Bolivia, the Bororõs do 361 Cabaçal not far from them in the north, along the banks and in the source region of the river of the same name as well as of the Jaurú, both of which empty into the upper Paraguay from the right, the former at Villa Maria, the latter somewhat farther south.

B ● 175 [114] These Bororõ were not infrequently visited by travelers; in 1827 they came into contact with the Langsdorff Expedition; in the same year the Austrian naturalist Natterer gathered an abundant collection among them, now in the Vienna Hofmuseum; Count Castlenau and his companion Weddell, who stayed in the Mato Grosso during their famous crossing of South America in

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175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves
178 chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/442 cont./

175 The colonization history of the province tells us about other Bororó, even in the earliest epoch. In 1742 Antonio Pires set out with a band of Paulistas and 500 friendly Bororó to subjugate the Kayapó /Cayapo/ in the southern part of the province; he took more than 1000 captive, established a few military posts, and left behind "a garrison of Bororó" there.

131 All these Bororó originally come from the region of the Rio S. Lourenço; from its lower part these nomadic hunters spread out into the region between it and its tributary, the Cuyabá, as well as along the right bank of the Paraguay lying opposite its mouth, whereas the ones originating from the upper part of the S. Lourenço are encountered by us in the eastern and southeastern part of the province along the source rivers of the Araguay /Araquaia/, the "Contravertenten" /contraflows/ of the S. Lourenço, as neighbors and enemies of the no less strong Kayapó.

114 It is difficult to understand why such great confusion has prevailed and still prevails about the Bororó among the people of the Mato Grosso themselves as well as in the literature. We
101 learn from Castelnau that the Bororó of the Cabaçal were at that time still called "Porrudos"; "the old name of the Rio S. Lorenço, which it still bears in its upper part," as the geographer Melgaço states (Rev. Trim., Vol. 47, p. 459), is now "Rio dos Porrudos."**

** Porra means "penis" in Portuguese; the penis-cuff of the Bororó suggested the name. Since the same costume, widespread throughout Brazil, did not call forth this name elsewhere, one suspects that here where the people said that they were called "Bororó" the Paulistas were moved to make a bad pun.

The Indians of the S. Lourenço are today called "Coroados," the shorn ones -- a name that positively invites confusion. We could have called the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians "Coroados" too; there were Coroados especially in the river basin of the Paraná

/472 cont./

291 pulled and lengthened. The flag is a strip of straw up to 20 centimeters in length inserted at the side. Even the captured Clemente was given a cuff, and he complained that it was accompanied by pain and swelling. The Langsdorff Expedition re-
[175] ports of the Bororó dos Campos in the year 1827 that "the men, after the manner of the Guató, tie up the praeputium with embira bast which they wear as a belt; others cover it with a leaf sheath (cartuxa de folhas)." * I have already quoted on page 193

[113] * Revista Trimensal 38 II, page 242.

Waehneldt's remark, which likewise bears witness, that the hip
[114] cord without cuff suffices, as on the Kulisehu. Rohde ** expresses

[113] ** Originalmitteilungen aus der Ethnol. Abteilung /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division/ I, page 14.

himself incorrectly when he says: "the men go about completely naked, except that they cover the penis with a sheath of reed, they tie the foreskin up, the member is fastened upright to the body." The reed sheaths which he presented to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde are exactly like the cuffs described, which cover the penis only insofar as the glans is part of it, and the rest seems to be pushed back into the scrotum. We did not see on the S. Lourenço the clamping into the hip cord; it is said to be done only by those who do not wear a cuff. Hence it follows that the purpose of the "tying up," namely, to be unimpeded in running, which Waehneldt suggests, could only have been a secondary purpose. The real purpose, which hip cord and cuff serve in like manner, is the lengthening of the praeputium; differing only with respect to method. it was observed among the great majority of all Brazilian tribes. /Pl. XXVII appears here./

/473/ Of the Bororó women the reporter of the Langsdorff Expedition says: "The women have a strange custom, I do not know whether to /Fig. 129 appears here/ cover themselves, in which case they are far from their laudable purpose. First of all, I should

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 590]

/516 cont./

1114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
1197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained
1195 fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the
648 Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

1194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogûro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable.
193 There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. —, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

1194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

| | Ear | Nose | Head | To go |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | i-wiya | i-keno | i-taura | i-i-tua |
| 2. | a-wiya | a-keno | a-kaura | a-tua |
| 3. | biya | eno | kaura | tua |
| 4. | pa-wiya | pa-geno | pa-gaura | pa-dua |
| 5. | te-wiya | te-geno | te-taura | te-dua |
| 6. | e-wiya | e-keno | e-taura | e-tua |

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SP7
Terena
Bororo SP8
/548/
B 127 BO G 13 16 175

## II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

| | | 1848 | | 1872 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Caiuás | ? | Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1) | ? |
| 2 | Chamococos | 200 | Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra | 200 |
| 3 | Cadiuéos (Guaicurús) | 850 | Paraguay below Coimbra | 850 |
| 4 | Beaquéos (Guaicurús) | 500 | East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda | 100 |
| 5 | Cotoguéos (Guaicurús) | | Lalima (2) near Miranda | – (4) |
| 6 | Guatiedeos (Guaicurús) | 130 | Albuquerque | – (5) |
| 7 | Guanaz (Guanás) | 200 | Albuquerque and near Cuyabá | – (6) |
| 8 | Kinikinãos (Guanás) | 1000 | Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda | – |
| 9 | Terenas (Guanás) | 2000 | Miranda | – |
| 10 | Laianas (Guanás) | 300 | Miranda | – |
| 11 | Guachís | ? | Miranda | – (7) |
| 12 | Guatós | 500 | Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba | 50 (8) |
| 13 | Bororós da Campanha | 180 | West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3) | 180 |

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Steinen--656 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8
Nambicuara SP17
Paressi SP19

/548 cont./

| | | 1848 | 1872 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 Bororós Cabaçaes | 110 | Registo do Jaurú and Campos da Caiçara | 40 |
| 15 Cayapós | 200 | Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Taquary, between Paraná and Paranahiba | 400 |
| 16 Coroados | ? | Source region of the S. Lourenço | ? |
| /549/ | | | |
| 17 Bacahirís | 200 | Source region of Paranatinga | 200 |
| 18 Cajabís | ? | Source region of Paranatinga | ? |
| 19 Barbados | 400 | Paraguay to the right and Serra dos Parecíz | 400 |
| 20 Pariciz | 250 | Campos and Serra dos Parecíz | 250 |
| 21 Maimbarés | 400 | | 400 |
| 22 Cabixís | 500 | | 500 |
| 23 Nambiquarás | 600 | Rio do Peixe (to the Arinos) | 600 |
| 24 Tapanhunas | 800 | Ribeirão (brook) dos Tapanhunas (to the Arinos) | 800 |
| 25 Apiacaz | 2700 | Arinos and Juruena | 2700 |
| 26 Mequens | ? | East of the Guaporé | ? |
| 27 Guarayos | ? | West of the Guaporé | ? |
| 28 Cautarios | ? | Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira | ? |
| 29 Pacáz | ?? | Eastern bank of the Mamoré | ? |
| 30 Cenabós | ? | Western bank of the Mamoré | ? |
| 31 Jacarés | ? | | |
| 32 Caripunas | 1000 | Bank of the Mamoré and Madeira | 1000 |
| 33 Aráras | ? | Bank of Madeira up to the Jamari (1) | ? |
| | 13020 | | 8670 |

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the cataract of Santo Antonio.

GO 105 175 [595] /550 cont./ Guató with five or six canoes full of women and children. Usually they have two wives, some are content with one. Here and there they cultivate a little maize, mandioca, and fruit, but more as delicacies than for subsistence. They also gather the wild rice (arroz silvestre), which grows there in abundance, but only for the needs of the moment. Very skillful with bow and arrow; engage in jaguar hunting with spear and javelin. Friendliest barter. The men starting to wear shirt and trousers, the women petticoats. Are faithful, upright, harmless, but have occasionally shown that they are capable of offering resistance and avenging injuries. Very inclined to drunkenness. Most of them understand our language and many adults speak it.

[Report 1872: This tribe is almost extinct.]

BO 105 175 [131] [101] 13 Bororós da Campanha. Two groups: 1) Village in Bolivia near Salinas, 2) village opposite Escalvado on the right bank of the Paraguay, one league from the river. Are peaceable, carry on agriculture, have pigs and chickens. Cotton hammocks. Some speak Portuguese. Have often brought slaves and deserters from Bolivia into the garrisons. 150-200.

[In 1858 it is said: one part lives in the Campanhas de Marco and another beyond the Corixa Brook.]

BO [101] [131] 14. Bororós Cabaçaes. Two hordes, until recently savage, one on the sources of the Jaurú, the other on those of the Cabaçal. Made numerous attacks on the road from Cuyabá to Matto Grosso,*

* The later name for Villa Bella on the Guaporé.

so that troops were often sent out against them and killed many, irrespective of age and sex. They themselves did not want to take captives, but killed as many as they could, irrespective of sex and age. Nourish themselves on the fruits which the earth yields freely and, at the most, plant some pururuca maize which they eat unripe, batatas, and bananas. No industry. /551/ Have bows and arrows, poor pots, straw plaiting with which they in part cover their nakedness. In 1842 the Reverend Curate of Matto Grosso, José da Sa Fraga, succeeded through persuasion and gentleness

BO 105 175 /551 cont./ and by means of gifts to lure them to a fazenda of his in the Registo do Jaurú; there they all stayed, 177 in number, from 1 April 1843; today they have dwindled to 81. During these five years they showed little inclination for agriculture and lived only by bow and arrow.

C 105 175 [131] 15. Cayapós. Between Paraná and Paranahyba and in the source region of the S. Lourenço and Taquary. Some are settled in the Destakament /detachment of troops/ on the Piquiry, others in the Porto do Paranahyba on the road to S. Paulo, others live independently. Hunting, fishing, cultivation of maize, rice, mandioca, batatas, and sugar cane. Make some rapadura (raw sugar boiled down). Have pigs, chickens, even a few cows and horses. Speak Portuguese in large part. Many hire themselves out. Some robberies which are attributed to the Coroados are probably carried out by them.

BO 105 175 [131] 16. Coroados. On the sources of the various tributaries of the S. Lourenço. Of their numbers and their characteristics little is known; they flee or are hostile. Set fires up to 20 leagues from Cuyabá; hence troops are sent out against them every few years, who kill adults and take children captive, which in no way promotes converting them.

B 105 175 17. Bacahiris. Sources of the Paranatinga and upper course of the Arinos. Are distinguished by a peaceful disposition. Flee from the attacks of their enemies, the Nambiquáras, Tapanhunas, and Cajabis. Live on hunting and fishing, plant maize, mandioca, batatas, cará, garden beans, broad beans, and sugar cane. Their implements for agriculture are made of stone or heartwood. Their industry: hammocks with meshes of cotton or tucum, plaited sieves, and small baskets. Only a very few (muito poucos) understand our language, although they wish to. Senhora Donna Feliciana Guerobina Pereira Coelho, a well-to-do landowner in the district of the upper sierra* has a

* According to Antonio, near Lagoinha.

A 105 175 friendly interest in them, gives them gifts, and speaks favorably about their easy conversion. They are enemies of the 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the Salto.

/551 cont./

000 18. Cajabis, unconquered savages in the vicinity of the salto.

19. Barbados. Only one settlement on the slope of the Serra BO dos Pareciz near the sources of the Rio Vermelho, a tributary of 105 the Paraguay, along which they roam as far as the Paraguay 175 itself. Maize, mandioca, batatas, cará. Implements of stone [131] and heartwood. No animal husbandry or industry. Are not at war with others; flee from the Brazilians, but are treacherous and twice have attacked travelers between Diamantino and Villa Maria.

P 20. Pareciz. 200; once famous and warlike. Various 105 groups in the sierra and the Campos dos Pareciz between 175 Diamantino and the district of Matto Grosso. Sometimes pay visits and bring, as barter goods, sieves, baskets, hammock ropes, feathers, drinking bowls, and the tobacco greatly prized by smokers, which they prepare and wrap in urumbamba.**

** Desmoncus rudentum, Desmoncus macranthus Mart., climbing palms.

Few speak and understand Portuguese. They do not commit open hostilities, but occasionally join the Cabixis to commit outrages.

[Report of 1858: Considerably decimated by the slave hunts of the Paulistas. The founding of the village near the city of Diamantino is of recent date. In 1856 they received the first presents.]

BI 21. Maimbarés. More numerous than the Pareciz, with whom 105 they have contact and in whose company they occasionally ap- 175 pear in family groups in the wilderneses of the Campos dos Pareciz. Hunting, cultivation of maize, mandioca, bananas, batatas, cará.

/552/

P 22. Cabixis. Numerous in various villages, 15-20 leagues 105 northwest of the Arraial de São Vicente. Hostile; with robbery 175 and fire they go as far as the vicinity of Matto Grosso, so that [131] occasionally troops are called out against them.